

## Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W

----- 030529

O 281206Z OCT 75

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 2520

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 NICOSIA 3099

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY

SUBJ: SECRETARY'S MESSAGE TO MAKARIOS RE CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

REF: STATE 254871

1. SUMMARY. MAKARIOS REFUSES TO RESUME INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS GIVEN ABSENCE OF SPECIFICS IN GOT POSITION. IMPLIES THIS POSITION COULD CHANGE FOLLOWING UNGA CYPRUS DEBATE. REITERATES RECOMMENDATION THAT US OR EC NINE OR BOTH TOGETHER SHOULD FORMULATE PROPOSALS FOR AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION. END SUMMARY.

2. DESPITE A FULL CALENDAR OF CEREMONIAL DUTIES IN CONNECTION WITH "OKHI DAY" CELEBRATIONS CONCLUDING THE HOLIDAY WEEKEND, MAKARIOS AGREED TO MY REQUEST TO SEE HIM PRIOR TO SCHEDULED APPOINTMENT OCTOBER 29. WE MET AT 11:15 THIS MORNING.

3. I READ SECRETARY'S MESSAGE SLOWLY. MAKARIOS LISTENED ATTENTIVELY. AFTER I HAD CONCLUDED, MAKARIOS SAID HE WANTED TO THANK PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER FOR THE STRON EFFORTS THEY HAD MADE TO MOVE TURKEY. HE APPRECIATED THESE EFFORTS AND THEIR SINCERITY. HOWEVER, GIVEN THE WEAKNESS OF DEMIREL'S GOVERNMENT - AND HE CITED ERBAKAN'S ROLE - HE DID NOT THINK THE PRESENT TURKISH GOVERNMENT COULD EVEN IN NEGOTIATION MOVE SUFFICIENTLY ON TERRITORIAL

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QUESTION TO ALLOW A SOLUTION. HE DOUBTED

GOT WOULD EVER CONSIDER REDUCTION BY MORE THAN FOUR OR FIVE PERCENT OF TERRITORY IT NOW HELD. THIS WAS NOT ENOUGH. CAGLAYANGIL'S PRESENT POSITION MIGHT HAVE BEEN CAST IN "SOFTER WORDS" BUT IT CONSITUTED NO REAL CHANGE.

4. RECALLING HIS LAST NEW YORK MEETING WITH TH SECRETARY, MAKARIOS SAID HE GAINED THE IMPRESSION THAT SECRETARY AGREED WITH HIM THAT TURKISH POSITION WOULD HAVE TO BE PUT IN TERMS OF SPECIFICS BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS COULD RESUME. (MAKARIOS DID NOT REFER TO NEED FOR WRITTEN PROPOSALS.) THE SECRETARY HAD TOLD HIM THAT USG WOULD NO LONGER ACCEPT WEAKNESS OF TURKISH GOVERNMENT AS AN EXCUSE FOR LACK OF PROGRESS.

5. MAKARIOS REFERRED TO TURKISH STIPULATIONS RE ACCEPTANCE OF BIZONALITY, A WEAK CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND PARTICIPATION ON AN EQUAL BASIS. HE SAID HE COULD ACCEPT BIZONALITY AND A WEAK CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, WITH VERY SUBSTANTIAL POWERS FOR THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF THE TWO ZONES, AS LONG AS THERE WAS SUFFICIENT CENTRAL GOVERNING AUTHORITY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND OTHER FIELDS TO PRESERVE CONCEPT AND REALITY OF AN INDEPENDENT CYPRUS. PARTICIPATION ON AN EQUAL BASIS, HOWEVER, WAS ANOTHER MATTER GIVEN THE DISPARITY IN SIZE OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES. (IT SEEMED POTENTIALLY SIGNIFICANT THAT WHILE CRITICAL OF TURKISH INSISTENCE ON THIS POINT, MAKARIOS DID NOT SAY FLATLY THAT PARTICIPATION ON AN EQUAL BASIS WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE, ALTHOUGH THAT WAS HIS IMPLICATION.)

6. MAKARIOS OBSERVED THAT FOR HIM TO ACCEPT A RESUMPTION OF TALKS AT THIS TIME WITHOUT GREATER SPECIFICITY FROM GOT WOULD CREATE UNREALISTIC EXPECTATION AMONG GREEK CYPRIOTS AND PROMOTE A FALSE IMPRESSION INTERNATIONALLY THAT TURKEY HAD MOVED. IN SHORT, HE COULD NOT TERM SECRETARY'S RECOMMENDATION FOR EARLY RESUMPTION OF TALKS AS PARTICULARLY HELPFUL AND HAD TO DECLINE.

7. MAKARIOS REITERATED HIS EARLIER SUGGESTION THAT US OR EC NINE OR BOTH ACTING IN CONCERT FORMULATE PROPOSALS FOR AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION AND PUT THEM TO THE PARTIES.

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8. REPLYING, I NOTED THE PRODIGIOUS AMOUNT OF WORK BY PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER THAT HAD BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN MOVING GOT TO POSITION OF BEING WILLING DISCUSS TERRITORY AND OTHER ISSUES SIMULTANEOUSLY. ARCHBISHOP'S POSITION WOULD BE RECEIVED WITH GREAT DISAPPOINTMENT BY MY GOVERNMENT. INTERNATIONALLY, RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENTS WOULD NOT UNDERSTAND ARCHBISHOP'S REFUSAL TO TEST

THE TURKS IN NEGOTIATION. GOT COULD BE EXPECTED CONTRAST  
UNFAVORABLY ARCHBISHOP'S REFUSAL TO TALK WITH ITS OWN  
STATED WILLINGNESS TO DO SO. WHILE WE FELT VERY  
STRONGLY THAT EARLIEST POSSIBLE RESUMPTION OF NEGOTIATIONS  
WAS IN INTERESTS OF ALL, WOULD HIS POSITION CHANGE IF

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 NICOSIA 3099

EXDIS

UNGA CYPRUS DEBATE PRODUCED AN INTERNATIONAL  
CONSENSUS THAT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE RESUMED?  
MAKARIOS REPLIED THAT HE WOULD HAVE TO GIVE  
WEIGHT TO A UNGA DECISION PARTICULARLY  
IF, AS HE HOPED, IT CONTAINED SOMEWHAT FIRMER  
AND MORE SPECIFIC RECOMMENDATIONS THAN BEFORE.

9. RETURNING TO THE THEME THAT GREEKS SHOULD CAPTIALIZE  
ON GOT WILLINGNESS NEGOTIATE ALL ISSUES SIMULTANEOUSLY,  
I ADDED THAT TURKEY'S NSC DECISION WAS A SUBSTANTIAL  
ADVANCE. FOR THE FIRST TIME, AND AFTER LONG DEBATE,  
IT COMMITTED THE MAJOR PARTIES AND TURKISH MILITARY.  
NEGOTIATION WAS THE WAY TO DRAW OUT TURKISH POSITIONS.  
WITH SOME KNOWLEDGE OF TURKISH ATTITUDES, I DID NOT  
THINK PROPOSALS FOR A SOLUTION PUT BY US, EC NINE OR OTHER  
OUTSIDERS WOULD PRODUCE FLEXIBILITY, BUT RATHER THE REVERSE.  
TURKEY, I BELIEVED, WOULD STRONGLY RESIST ANYTHING  
THAT HAD THE FLAVOR OF AN IMPOSED SOLUTION.

10. MAKARIOS ACKNOWLEDGED THIS MIGHT BE TRUE. STILL,  
HE HAD TO REFUSE TO RESUME INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS AT THIS TIME

ALTHOUGH HE FAVORED SUCH TALKS IN PRINCIPLE AS ONE  
APPROACH TO A SOLUTION. BEFORE CHANGING HIS POSITION, HE  
REPEATED THAT HE WANTED TO SEE SOMETHING SPECIFIC  
FROM TURKEY. HE WAS NOT ASKING THAT THIS BE ITS  
ULTIMATE POSITION. HE WELL REALIZED THAT GOT WOULD  
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WISH HOLD A MARGIN FOR NEGOTIATION BUT HE HAD TO  
HAVE SOMETHING AS "A MINIMUM". I SAID ONCE MORE  
THAT AS A FRIEND OF CYPRUS, I THOUGHT MAKARIOS WAS  
MISSING AN IMPORTANT OPPORTUNITY TO MOVE  
TOWARD A SOLUTION AND THIS ACTION WOULD PROBABLY BE  
SEEN IN THE SAME LIGHT BY MUCH OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY.

11. CONCLUDING, MAKARIOS SAID HE WOULD BE AVAILABLE  
TO ME AT ANY TIME TO CONTINUE THIS DISCUSSION, AND  
HE ASKED THAT HIS WARM REGARDS BE CONVEYED TO  
PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER.

12. COMMENT: I FEAR IT WAS PREDICTABLE THAT MAKARIOS  
WOULD TAKE THIS POSITION. CLEARLY, HE DOES NOT  
WANT ANYTHING TO INTERFERE WITH A THOROUGH AIRING OF GOC  
GRIEVANCES IN UNGA DEBATE AND BELIEVES AGREEMENT TO  
RESUMPTION OF TALKS BEFORE NOVEMBER 10 WOULD  
WORK AGAINST THIS. IT IS MY ESTIMATE THAT HE  
CAN BE CHANGED AFTER UNGA DEBATE BUT PROBABLY NOT  
BEFORE.  
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